1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

FOREWORD

THE following study was made between the years 1931 and 1935, in a series of sojourns with the Papago, totaling some fifteen months. It is to be considered as a sequel to a previous paper on Social Organization (Underhill, 1939) and uses data furnished by many of the same informants.

The study was made principally on the Sells reservation, the largest of three now occupied by the Papago, with a population (1940) of 5,577. At that time the San Xavier reservation had 515 and Gila Bend 127. Also, some visits were made across the Mexican border, where once there was a large Papago population. At present there is scarcely a village there which can be called exclusively Indian. The only one which holds a yearly Papago ceremony (Quitovaca) draws its performers largely from the American side. In Arizona, on the contrary, the Papago are a segregated group, with many ceremonies intact and others vividly remembered. Much regional difference was found, so that even on the Sells reservation ceremonial variations had to be traced through northern, southern, and western Papago.

Each village or group of related villages was found to have its specialist, usually hereditary, for every ceremony. A few of the more conservative objected to revealing their lore, but most finally consented to speak, always through an interpreter from the local group. Informants and interpreters are numbered for purposes of reference, and the number of each appears in parenthesis in the text following any statement for which he is the special authority.

Songs and ceremonial speeches were recorded in text, with interlinear translation. Here, there appears only the free transla-

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

In former days, dandies were said to prepare for the drinking 1946 x
by reddening the soles of their feet so that when they fell over 273
drunk "the pretty color would show." Some women remained in [302]
the otherwise deserted houses, and young girls and babies were
kept on the housetops, out of harm's way.

We children would stay there all day and all night [reported one informant], "and when the drinking was over, some child would come from a neighbor's house and tell us: 'Your father and your mother are asleep out there in the arroyo. Go sit by them until they wake, so that their clothes will not be stolen.' "(26)

But the liquor had no very high alcoholic content. So much of it must be drunk before there is any intoxication that its most usual effect is to make the drinker vomit. This is recognized as a ceremonial feature, and people say with pleasure, pointing out a man so affected: "Look, he is throwing up clouds." The regular procedure during the twenty-four hours of the feast is to drink, vomit, sleep, and drink again, until the result is a thorough purging. The writer, after attending many festivals, has never seen any acts of violence, though it is reported that violence does sometimes occur. It is usual to see a group gathered at one house, singing, while the only drinking cup is passed slowly around, one person drinking at a time. This is the occasion above all others for learning songs, and informants are often recommended with the words, "He will know songs; he goes to all the drinking festivals." [11]

[11] The rainmaking ceremony is still held in the northern part of the reservation in the villages belonging to the Archie group and at Anegam. Since in the last few years more leniency is being shown by the Indian Office toward Indian festivals, this ceremony is being revived in other districts. [657] ●

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

stream beds the bean bearing mesquite and palo verde stretch their roots down to underground water. On the plain grows the creosote bush and sometimes nothing else.

This is one of the hottest and driest areas in the United States, the annual rainfall in the interior being about five inches.[1] Yet those five inches rendered subsistence possible for the Desert People. They are concentrated in the summer months of July and August when the daily cloudburst produces a temporary flood which may cover the flat plain to a depth of six inches for a square mile. In a day or two there sprout the seeds of annuals which may have remained inactive for several seasons, awaiting sufficient moisture. The succulent cacti swell, storing water for the dry months. The deciduous trees put out tiny leaves, exposing to the glare as little green as possible.

For two months while the desert bloomed, the Papago picked and stored every root, stalk, leaf and fruit that it produced. Where the flood water had softened the soil, they planted small gardens which, begun in mid-July, had just time to mature before frost. All the harvest was dehydrated in the blazing desert sun and stored to furnish food in the dry months. Then the rain ceased; the rain reservoirs which had supplied drinking water for the valley dwellers dried up; life was impossible unless the population moved to the foothills where there were springs.

Until very recently, when the United States government has dug wells in the valleys, this was the life of the Papago. It precluded their having permanent houses, either for dwellings or for ceremonies. It prevented a centralized form of organization such as has been suggested for the Pima, both on the Gila and the San Pedro. But it kept the Papago unmolested until long after these others had disappeared or had assimilated White ways.

Yet the Desert People, harassed by Nature as they were, found opportunity to practise all the arts described for the more fortunate Pima,[2] with only minor differences, due to materials. We may picture them, up to a few generations ago, living in round, semi-subterranean houses, often earth covered. They dressed in skirts and breechclouts of buckskin and, less often, cotton and wore sandals when they had any footgear at all. Their pottery was of coarse red clay, shaped by paddle and anvil with, only rarely, a decorated jar for offerings and seed storage. The bulk of their utensils was of basketry: plaited, coiled or netted in the intricate technique known as coil without foundation. These are old arts in

[1] Bryan, pp. 29—30.
[2] Russell, pp. 68—181. Castetter and Underhill, pp. 48—63.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

among the southern villages, so that the arrangement of family geographic units was broken up. The southerners, who had had cattle since Kino's time, were acquiring more through the abandonment of ranches and as pay for their services with the soldiers. Their members were growing accustomed to labor for the Mexicans, paid in money, and to the use of Mexican goods. The northern villagers were still agriculturists with very few cattle. But the Pimas, who had become commercial wheat growers, were employing them in large numbers and thus wheat and American goods were circulating. The northerners kept their family units intact and kept the ceremonial payments which lapsed in the south. 178

With United States supervision, which began for San Xavier in 1874 and for the mass of Papagos not until 1917, there was an increase in material goods. Papagos acquired wagons, horses and plows and, in very small amount, furniture and kitchen utensils. This property was handled according to the old family system and in many cases, it is so still. Horses, cattle and farm tools were regarded as mens' property, their use directed by the patriarch, who delegated some of the young men as cowboys, some as farmers, as before they had been farmers and hunters. Womens' property did not increase as had the mens' and in fact lessened. The supply of meat and farm produce increased beyond the subsistence point so that the family could trade for store food and the women need not go out gathering. One of the first results, then, was to upset the balance between mens' and womens' work and to make women dependent.

But the relationship of the individual to the family unit was kept. Men still owed their labor to their families and the writer met one young man, even recently, who could not take paid work because his geographic unit contained distant but helpless relatives whose fields he must till. No individual disposed of his harvest, increased though it was by the new tools, until all his relatives had been asked to help themselves. Even those who went out to work used their money to buy store goods for the whole family.

Such a conditions, in varying stages of change, endured until what was practically the economic revolution of 1933 when Emergency Conservation Work spent 350,000 dollars (to November 1935), in improving the water supply of the reservation. This meant that many localities which, heretofore, had been camps, could be permanent residences. There was no irrigation but there were drinking places for cattle where there had been none before. Also from two to six hundred men were employed in a year and received money wages. 178 657 436

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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It was not possible to fit the sudden plentitude of money into the family scheme. Young men did, indeed buy what clothes and tools the family needed but they had a surplus for themselves as never before. The use of this surplus is now in process of working out but several results are obvious. One is the change of power from the hands of the old to the young, since it was formerly the old who practiced crafts and brought income to the family. Another is the break up of family units since it is the temptation of the young man to move with his wife and babies where he will be free of supervision. In old times he would have needed such constant help that this would have been impossible but modern improvements make such help unnecessary or payable in money. A third is that the concentration of workers from all over the reservation at the work centers, breaks up the village and even the dialect groups. Men can see the possibility of living outside their home localities. A fourth is the habit of looking to the government for charity. The family and village groups, which once took care of all dependents for the sake of their own comfort and reputation, are in process of breaking up. The responsibility of the Federal government which, to the remote Papago, had been but a vague idea, has been strongly registered. In a word, the Papago are making a very rapid change from a barter to a money economy, from the family unit to the individual, and since their standard of living is rapidly rising, from an economy of abundance to one of scarcity.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A PAPAGO WOMAN

FOREWORD

THE Papago Indians live on three reservations in the southwest corner of Arizona, near the Mexican border. They belong to the Piman-Sonoran language group and are, in language and descent, identical with the Pima whom they call River People, while they themselves are Desert People. Both were found by the Spaniards in the country they now occupy, which extends from the Gila River in Arizona to the Altar River in Sonora, and which once constituted the ancient Spanish province of Upper Pimeria.

The first important contact of the Whites with Pimeria was at the end of the seventeenth century when the famous missionary, explorer, and business executive, Father Kino established his chain of missions in the Altar Valley. He made a few extensions into the present Arizona, notably at San Xavier, near the present Tucson, and he also toured the whole of Pimeria, not once but many times, distributing cattle and seeds, and baptizing the people with Spanish names. It was in his day that the Papago learned to spend the rainless and hungry winters at the pleasant Altar missions, learning the eighteenth century Spanish methods of farming, which some of them practise to this day.

But the desert country did not attract Spanish colonization. After Kino's time, such Spanish traits as reached the Papago were adopted after their yearly visits to Mexico, rather than forced on them by close contact. Pimeria adhered technically to the Spanish colonial system by which the head man of each village was elected by the people and confirmed in office by the provincial governor. But the lieutenant governor, the sheriff, and the church officers who should have completed the picture, were nonexistent. Church services were a form, continued side by side with the ancient ceremonies which persisted with a vitality impossible in the subjugated provinces of Mexico.

This condition of slow acculturation persisted until the Gadsden purchase in 1853. With this change, Pimeria was cut violently in two, the new international boundary running through its lower portion, the home of the Papago, and leaving half of them in the United States and half in Mexico. It was to Mexico that the Papago felt allegiance, for their desert country was still forbidding to both miners and ranchers, and they were left to follow their old customs almost unmolested. Not so with the Pima. Their fertile land, along the Gila, was directly in the track of the gold rush, the trappers, and the Apache fighters. The Pima supplied all these travellers with grain, and early established a relationship which made for swift acculturation not to Mexican standards but to American.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

619 101 which belongs to the Uto-Aztecan stock.[1] Among all there was a strong feeling of kinship, although the "Papago" feel themselves different from the "Pima."

161 101 657 The Desert People in the United States are officially consolidated into "The Papago Tribe of Arizona." About 5,900 of them live on the Papago Reservation, roughly a sixty-five-mile square lying along the southern border of Arizona between the Baboquivari Mountains on the east and the Ajo Mountains on the west, with an irregular line south of the Gila River as its northern boundary (see Map I). Others live near by on two smaller reservations: about 200 at Gila Bend to the northwest, and almost 500 at San Xavier to the east. Including a few members who live off the reservations, Papago now number close to 7,000, a large tribe which is increasing at the rate of over 1 per cent a year.

128 It is the Desert People, specifically those who live on the main Reservation, who are the subject of this study; they are referred to here as "the Papago" and their reservation as "the Reservation." Those herein called "the Pima" are the official "Pima tribe," who live on the Gila River and Salt River reservations to the north.

361 621 On the main Papago Reservation the people live on lonely ranches or in scattered, sprawling villages, many of which existed when the first Jesuit missionary, Father Kino, came in 1698. The village is the important unit among the Papago. It always consists of a group of related families, ranging in number from four or five to fifty or sixty household units, totaling perhaps three hundred individuals. However, there are only a few large villages: only thirty-six villages of more than fifty people on the entire Reservation. Sells, the seat of the government agency, has over one thousand inhabitants, but the number of white persons and the fact that many of the Papago families attracted there by government jobs are unrelated make this settlement atypical.

Villages are interrelated through the dialect groups. The original groups were first described by Father Kino, who thought of them as being virtually separate tribes (see chap. v). Since his time the various groups have moved to their present locations and have become officially consolidated into one tribe, but the divisions are still recognized by the Papago.

197 631 The dialect groups have recently acquired political significance. In 1936 the Reservation was divided into nine districts, roughly equivalent to the dialect groups but also determined by administrative and economic consideratons (see Map I). The outlying San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations form two additional districts. Population in the districts on the main reservation varies from 1,200 in Sells to 250 in Gu Vo, the western districts being most thinly settled.

1. There are over fifty linguistic stocks in use among Indians of the United States and Canada today, some of them as different as English and Chinese (see Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, pp. 391–400).

(4) [Text continues on p. 7]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

MAP I

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491
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PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION, 1943

[p.5]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

PEOPLE ON THE DESERT

The two largest Indian villages are in the central and southeastern sections of the Reservation—Topawa in Baboquivari and Gu Achi (Santa Rosa) in the Gu Achi District.

Unlike most Indian tribes in the United States, the Papago have rather recently come under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior; the main reservation (the last large one established) dates only from 1917. The local government agency at Sells on the Papago Reservation is also responsible for the San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations.

The Reservation population includes about fifty white government employees and their families, chiefly concentrated at Sells. Scattered over the Reservation are other white people—teachers in the schools under government or religious auspices, other members of the government and mission staffs, traders, and a few miners.

The Papago live on the land, as they have for centuries, by farming small fields and raising livestock, but in recent years they have depended increasingly on wage work on near-by ranches and farms and in mines as well as on employment by the government. Thus an alien culture is entering into their way of life—a culture that has already made a deep impression on the Desert People.

As a group the Papago do not much resemble the stereotype which the word "Indian" brings to the minds of most white people: tall gaunt men in eagle-feather headdresses and blanketed women carrying babies on their backs. Though most Papago are rather tall, have large shoulders and chests, and are inclined toward obesity,[2] some are small and slender, and others are of medium build. In all there is a delicacy of feet and hands which suggests small bones. Typical Papago have wide faces with rather heavy features; slanted eyes and long-lobed ears are common. They have dark-brown eyes and straight black hair. Many are dark-skinned, but much of this coloring is due to life in the sun; when a man rolls up his sleeves, one usually sees arms that are a soft yellowish brown.

Among the Desert People there are few extreme variations of physical type such as may be observed on reservations like the Sioux, where an Indian may have flaxen hair and blue eyes. Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of those on the tribal roll are "Papago-American," i.e., have white blood. But there is some Yaqui and other Indian blood among the Papago, and in recent years a few young Papago have married members of other Indian tribes they met at off-Reservation boarding schools.

2. See Norman Gabel, "A Comparative Racial Study of the Papago" (MS).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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UP TO THE PRESENT

The new Papago Agency began to have other marked effects on the life of the Desert People: wells were dug in several villages; the hospital was built; the Indian court was established. The Indians did not like some of the agents and their policies and did not hesitate to say so. In one case they organized politically and fought an agent so successfully that he was removed (see chap. vii).

This period saw also a renewal of Catholic missionary work which had lapsed during the nineteenth century. For several years after 1908, brief trips were made to Gu Achi by various Roman Catholic priests who were stationed on the Pima Reservation. In 1915 a resident priest was given jurisdiction over the area, and he made his headquarters near Ko Vaya (Cobabi). In 1923 Father Bonaventure Oblasser moved the headquarters to Topawa. One or sometimes two priests served the Reservation for the next decade, carrying on the work of the church and directing its mission schools, which were taught by young Papago. Visits were seldom made to the westernmost part of the Reservation, and it was not until the 1930's that an increase of personnel brought an expansion of Catholic missionary work.

Systematic Protestant missions to the Papago started in 1910, when a Presbyterian missionary began to make regular trips to the Reservation.[21] By 1912 a church and school of that denomination were established at Indian Oasis, which is now Sells. Two years later a church and school were set up at San Miguel, and, in 1920, churches were built in Vamori and Topawa. Some older Sonora Catholics were converted; often their children were in boarding school, and word was sent that the children should now attend Presbyterian Sunday school instead of Catholic services. The third generation of Presbyterians is now beginning to grow up, and the membership, a minority on the Reservation, remains mostly in the families of the eastern districts who were first converted. Today many of the most active tribal leaders are of this faith.

THE NEW ERA

The two main causes of the changes that took place in the fourth period of Papago history, which began in the early 1930's, are the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act. These changes have been accelerated to a great extent by World War II.

21. The Papago say that about 1900 some Mormons came to Topawa and "dipped" a few people; they did not continue their missionary efforts, and the Papago who had been converted to the Mormon faith later became Presbyterians. About the same time, one Papago informant says, a few Indians were converted by a Negro woman who preached a life of poverty and sharing and called her followers "Israelites." Carl Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, p. 40) writes that this was a part of a revivalist movement started by the "prophet" Dowie. The converts later became Presbyterians.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

175 657 Civilian Conservation Corps work began in 1933.[22] At first the Papago would not work very willingly on these projects, and the old people opposed the idea of the young men earning money—they predicted correctly that young people would come to disregard parental authority, begin drinking, and get into trouble. However, many of the Papago men, both young and old, became interested in the projects, and before the CCC was liquidated in 1942, about one man in each twenty families was doing CCC work. This was a rather small proportion as compared with some Indian tribes and other sections of the country, but it was a great increase over the initial response. The projects were of practical value to the Reservation as a whole: roads were built to places that had been inaccessible except by horse; *charcos*[23] were put in, and deep wells were drilled, which allowed the people to live the year round in the valley villages. Furthermore, the projects benefited the workers, for they learned new skills and methods which they have since used to some advantage.

175 578 185 Yet neither the public works nor the wage-work economy were accepted wholeheartedly by all the Papago. Some of the villages, particularly those in the western districts, bitterly opposed the improvements, although since then the people have begun to use them. There was disagreement over the use of the water, over individual, community, and government wells, and there were bitter fights with some of the already established Indian cattle owners, who stood by their customary rights. A conflict also arose, as the old men had predicted, from the money that came in as it never had before. Young men could now buy food and need not be tied down to the fields; they could be independent of their fathers, who had previously supplied the knowledge and direction which it took to earn a living. Road construction and the acquisition of cars directly abetted this new independence.

175 657 In 1935 the Indian Reorganization Act was placed before the Papago. The Indians always had village organization (see chap. v); the agents had councils, and there had been purely Indian committees for particular purposes (see chap. vii). But now the whole Reservation was to be organized on a democratic basis, with equal representation in council. When the plan was placed before them, the people approved, though few understood what it meant. Under tutelage of the government and with suggestions from a group of Indian delegates, a constitution was drafted. The Reservation was divided

22. This work, first termed Emergency Conservation Work and subsequently Civilian Conservation Corps—Indian Division, was financed from CCC funds and administered by the Indian Service. It was not limited to young unmarried men and veterans as in other parts of the country but served rather as a general work relief program for Indian men.

23. *Charcos* are natural ponds, deepened and diked.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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into districts, and the boundaries were fenced; elections were held. Since 1937 the Papago Tribal Council has been meeting regularly and handling much of the business of the tribe, with suggestions and guidance from the Agency. The Council still does not have the support of all the Papago, but there is more co-operation now between the people and the federal government, as represented by the Agency, than ever before.

While tribal organization was being changed, the Roman Catholic church reorganized its missions. Instead of one priest for the whole Reservation, there are now six, with two at San Xavier. Sisters came to teach. There is a concerted, yet slow and cautious, effort to bring the Sonora Catholic Papago into the fold of the church and to wean them from some of the older practices, such as the Indian marriage customs. On the surface these efforts seem to be partially successful, but such endeavors take time. In 1943 the Presbyterian missions also began a reorganization.

With the advent of war, Papago were drafted, and both men and women began to leave the Reservation in large numbers to work in the cotton fields, ranches, mines, railroads, and airplane factories. The effect of this new work pattern will be far-reaching. If the people become thoroughly acclimated to wage labor and then suddenly face an economic depression, the effects may be tragic for them as for other minority groups.

With all these forces at work on the Reservation it might well be asked: What is left of Papago culture? A few members of the tribe have become Americanized, but the majority are still very much Papago. The old culture is strong, although it seems on the surface to have changed a great deal. Many of the old customs and beliefs still dominate the peoples' lives today, not because the Papago want to reject new things but just because, to them, the old way is "the way to do things."

Yet there is no rigidity in the Papago adherence to their old ways. Adaptability seems to be a fundamental part of Papago character; indeed, existence in the desert, with its extremes of heat and cold, drought and flood, want and plenty, requires adaptability. From their first contacts with white men, the Desert People began to take from white culture what appealed to them. The white men came as allies, not as conquerors, and there was no catastrophic conflict. The Papago were always fairly secure in the ownership of their land, and no overwhelming force was exerted on them to change their ways, hence there was no reason to close in upon themselves as did the Pueblo and the Yaqui Indians. Thus the Papago were able, without deep emotional conflicts, to add to their own culture many of the values and traits of a foreign way of life. In the following chapters we shall see what the results have been.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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439 and labor go immediately for the import of food and clothing, but the 25 per
441 cent of this amount which represents the retail profit is lost to the Indians."[8]

The Agency has proposed that Reservation stores should be either co-
657 operatively or individually owned and run by Indians and stocked through large-scale co-operative buying. This would provide both better goods at lower prices and employment for Indians.

The government has also encouraged the Tribal Council to set up a Fair and Rodeo Board, which has constructed buildings and grounds for tribal fairs. A Loan Board has been established to lend money to stockmen and farmers.

Other improvements in Papago economy have been suggested by the Agency staff or the Tribal Council. Recently the council requested the opportunity to resettle several hundred families on Indian lands along the Colorado River which are to be opened to other tribes. (Whether families can actually be persuaded to relocate is problematical.) The Agency has plans for bringing in water to certain areas, conserving present resources by introducing new types of plant growth, and acquiring the use of range lands outside the Reservation. These plans, however, depend upon considerably increased appropriations of federal funds.

181 It is obvious that, with what have been termed the poorest natural resources of any Indian reservation,[9] with rapidly increasing population, and with no immediate prospects of more land, the Papago must conserve and improve what resources they have if they are to go on living in their desert country. Despite this critical situation, the Papago are not a harried people. They do not feel the urge to outdo their neighbors which often creates frustration in a completely competitive economy. Their standard of living and the satisfaction they derive from their way of life cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents, though they are coming to feel the necessity for cash and to value the things it can procure. Nor do they have the sense of being hemmed in, and the consequent bitterness against their white neighbors that is characteristic of many Indian tribes whose lands have been steadily reduced. The Papago are aware that the government in many concrete ways has made easier their life in a hard environment. This is not to say that white American civilization has not brought conflicts, has not disturbed the old ways of life. But the Papago still live on the land that has been theirs for centuries, and they do not feel it threatened by white encroachment.

And this is important because their land is all-important to them. All the Desert People—even those who leave the Reservation to take jobs—keep their

8. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 43.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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In the eastern districts there are more stores, and trade is generally brisker, so that there is not so much opportunity for extended personal contact; then, too, there are other white people to ask for advice or assistance. Hence the relationship between trader and Indian is likely to be more impersonal than in the West. Furthermore, there are a few Indian traders to supply some commercial needs.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE AGENCY

The three Papago reservations are under the jurisdiction of the Sells Agency[2] of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, headed by a superintendent and staffed by about two hundred administrators, technicians, clerical and manual workers. In addition to the Administrative Branch, which has the general "housekeeping" duties of the staff, the Agency is composed of three branches: Indian Resources and Engineering (whose functions were discussed in chap. iii), Community Services—Education, Health, Law and Order, and Social Service—which are discussed below. This staff performs for a group of nearly seven thousand Indians many of the functions which in other parts of the country are the province of such local and state organizations and officials as boards of health, education and welfare, state and municipal highway departments, county agents, boards of supervisors, and public safety departments. In most of its programs the Agency staff works in close co-operation with the tribal council, and it seeks to gain widespread public support before new developments are initiated.

PAPAGO SCHOOLS

As previously noted, the Papago have a short life-span, two-fifths of the population being under eighteen years of age, according to ration-book data in 1942. The school-age group alone (six to seventeen years, inclusive) numbered 1,681 children—25 per cent of the population. Not only a much higher proportion of the people are of school age than is customary in other parts of the country, but many of the children live in tiny remote villages, where roads are only wagon trails. Thus the problem of providing schools is greater.

There were in 1943 eighteen day schools on the three Papago reservations. Of these, eleven were maintained by the Indian Service, all of them on the main Reservation. The Roman Catholic missions had six day schools (one on the San Xavier Reservation) and the Presbyterians one at San Miguel in Chukut Kuk District. Off the reservations, Papago children attend four boarding schools and various special schools and sanatoriums run by the Indian

2. Renamed "Papago Indian Agency" in 1948.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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important during the war years. However, by far the greater part of the social worker's time during the war years was spent on Selective Service matters, including registration of Indian young men, assistance in completing questionnaires for the Tucson draft board, investigation of dependency, and getting the selectees to places of examination and induction.

Relief rolls are small; the peak case load was reached in January, 1943, with 123 families, but five months later the total was only ten cases. There is little delinquency, only ten cases having been handled between 1940 and 1945.

LAW AND ORDER

The maintenance of law and order on the Papago reservations is under the judicial authority of the tribal court, which is discussed in the following section, but the Indian Service employs a chief of police, two policemen, and two judges—all Indians. The Papago are a law-abiding people who commit few crimes of violence.

The chief difficulty of the police lies in enforcing the Indian Liquor Law. The Indian police attempt to prevent trouble on occasions when there is likely to be drinking, and they are frequently asked in advance to be present. But there are so few police and the territory is so large and so near to a convenient source of illicit liquor—Mexico—that legal sanctions are not very effective. Indian judges impose jail sentences for drunkenness, and off the Reservation state and local authorities also arrest intoxicated Indians.

AGENCY STAFF AND INDIANS

Nominally, every staff member up to and including the superintendent is accessible to any Indian who desires to talk with him, but relatively few Indians seek such contacts. To consult anyone except the teachers and the field medical staff, a Papago usually must go to Sells, where the white Agency milieu does not encourage confidence. Most of the people feel that this is a different world, where it is little use for them to go except when summoned or perhaps to ask for a job. Even political leaders find a barrier between themselves and the Agency personnel.

This is not the result of official policy, and in recent years determined efforts have been made to bring together the administrative staff and the people for whose welfare they are working. Yet, the size of the Reservation and the large amount of detailed work to be done by a small staff make it difficult even for division heads, whose planning should be on the basis of frequent consultation with the people, to confer with individual Indians often or at length. Only teachers in the isolated districts have prolonged and intimate contacts with the villagers.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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them in and did what they said." About 1925 half of the members split off into the League of Papago Chiefs, a group in opposition to the superintendent and the old League. The conflict rapidly became acute. Agency employees and other whites (including missionaries) supported one faction against the other. The opposition won out, and the superintendent was removed in 1929. The Papago say that the influence of this split still exists and that the two groups oppose each other to this day, though the two leagues have officially disappeared.

Another attempt at organization was made when three lawyers offered to represent the Papago in pressing certain claims against the United States. The Secretary of the Interior required that three Papago representatives be elected by a general council of the tribe and be authorized to sign the contract with the attorneys. Of the four men elected as officers of the General Papago Council, two came from the superintendent, and one had been neutral. All of them were boarding-school men from the southeastern part of the Reservation. The ensuing negotiations resulted in strife and factionalism among the Indians, for the rumor was circulated that the executive committee had promised the lawyers large sections of tribal land. Even near-by non-Papago towns were alarmed lest clear titles to their lands be impaired. When, at the recommendation of the lawyers, the Reservation was withdrawn from all types of mineral entry (restored with the Reorganization Act), there arose a real hue and cry from all sides. The attorneys' contract was not renewed in 1934, and most of the Agency personnel was transferred.[7]

When the new superintendent arrived in 1934, he saw the Reservation largely in economic terms and began to reorganize it to develop the cattle industry; his plans included systematic range management, grazing districts with fences, a cattle association, and an organization to provide for local self-government. In October, 1934, representatives from twenty-five villages met in Sells and signed an agreement with the government providing for some of the economic portions of this program.[8] The Indian Reorganization Act was accepted on December 15, 1934, and the Papago Tribe became legally a political unit.

To provide a basis for self-government, the Papago elected a committee of twenty men to draft a constitution. Only three of the western villages, however, participated in the elections, and five of the six-man committee which ironed out differences of opinion were *kokololoti* members of the southeastern

7. Account drawn from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . , 1935*, pp. 35–37, and from personal inquiry.

8. The cattle association never materialized because of too strenuous opposition.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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646 be rushed or pushed into action. If these qualities are respected by government representatives, they are more likely to gain the support and active participation of the council in their common responsibility—the welfare of the Papago.

THE TRIBAL COURT

671 Off the reservation Indians are subject to state and local law. On their reservations they are subject to federal law in regard to ten major crimes: murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, assault with a dangerous weapon, arson, burglary, larceny, incest, and robbery. All other offenses are dealt with according to the tribal law.[9]

The Papago code of law and order, drawn up by a committee of the tribal council,[10] is in the main a codification of the old laws and customs of the people. However, it includes several white innovations such as the requirement of a marriage license and ceremony and provision for probating estates and appointing guardians.

692 On the Papago reservations law is administered by a tribal court and Indian police. The tribal court is presided over by Indian judges whose appointment by the superintendent must be approved by the tribal council. The constitution provides for three judges in all, but at the time of this study there was only one on the main Reservation and one at San Xavier.

626 696 681 [674] As noted in chapter iv, many difficulties which might come to court are settled within the family without recourse to law, or are taken to the village court. Since the Papago are a law-abiding people, not many cases come up for trial. In one year only 116 were on record, the majority cases of drunkenness. The usual sentence is a number of days in jail. The normal Papago does not like such a sentence, for he does not like to have "people talk," as they do when someone is behind bars. Thus the diffuse sanctions of public opinion are important in maintaining the legal sanctions.

693 Indian judges and police are not in a particularly happy position. Several past incumbents criticized for favoring kinsmen or people of their own religious denomination resigned. At the time of this study, one of the judges nominally a Presbyterian apparently was not accused of partiality.

DISTRICT COUNCILS AND COURTS

631 634 657 According to the tribal constitution, the district is the basic unit of government, with an elected council and a court. Actually, however, as indicated in preceding sections, this white pattern of government has not really taken root

9. Or, in the absence of such a code, according to a code of laws for Indians embodied in U.S. Code, Title 25.

10. Approved 1945.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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on the Reservation. The districts were created to facilitate range management, and, while in the main they coincided roughly with the areas occupied by the various dialect groups, the boundaries cut across old lines of communication and usage. Nor are these boundaries mere symbols, for they are marked by fences erected to prevent the cattle of one district from straying into another and eating up its range. Some fences cut through established ranges and kept cattle from their usual watering places. An added annoyance was that they cut across some old routes from one village to another. The fences have now stood so long that the people have adjusted to them, but the districts which they mark off have never become real entities.

At the time of the present study the council of Baboquivari District in the southeast consisted of ten members, with one or two representatives from each village except Topawa, which had four in accordance with its size. Supposedly these representatives were elected at village meetings every two years. The council formerly had met every month on the Friday preceding the tribal council meeting, and anyone interested might come and participate in the discussion. However, interest had apparently fallen off, for no meetings had been held recently.

Hickiwan and Gu Vo district councils were organized on the old pattern: every adult male was eligible to speak and to vote. However, as previously noted, Hickiwan had been so badly split that no united action was ever taken, and only one meeting was held in the two years preceding this study. Gu Vo had had no meetings at all.

At one time consideration was given to the establishment of district courts where small matters could be decided. The people of Baboquivari indicated a desire to try out such a court, but it was never set up. Here, as elsewhere on the Reservation, minor disputes which cannot be settled by the family are still taken to the old village court.

THE PAPAGO AND THE LARGER WHITE WORLD

Papago who go to work on the Reservation—as they have done in increasing numbers since 1940—receive varying treatment. Where they work in large numbers, as on the ranches and at the Ajo mine, they are given a good deal of consideration, for they are known as good and steady, though slow, workers. Ranchers allow their workmen to go home occasionally and treat them according to their merits as honest and hard-working individuals. Papago who have gone out to work for several years usually return to the same employer, and quite friendly relations are often established between them.

Contacts with employers at the mine are, of course, far less personal, but

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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previously the Papago had known almost exclusively common payment in kind for common effort.

3. Among the Papago, authority lay chiefly in the family, not only during childhood but throughout life. Authority was conceived as growing with age and with increasing responsibility for descendants. The old men in the village council reflected only the family situation to the younger ones, who had the assurance that slowly and gradually they too would gain those privileges which were denied to them in youth.

With the advent of white civilization new symbols and representatives of authority have appeared and demanded their share of attention and recognition from the Papago. Among them are the Catholic fathers and brothers of the Franciscan Order and the men and women of the Presbyterian Mission. The functions of the Christian clergy may not be considered by the Papago very different from those of their medicine men. But, while the medicine men exert their influence exclusively upon relationships between man and the supernatural and all their active interest in temporal matters is indirect and must go through the filter of supernatural and magical concepts, the clergy have included within their sphere of direct influence such matters of morality as had previously been the concern of the Papago family.

Representatives of the white administration, whether visiting officials or members of the Agency established on the Reservation, are just that many more completely new additions to the Papago pattern of authority. They do not offer any points of comparison to either the grandparents or parents, the medicine man, or the old men of the village councils. In bewildering contrast, most of the new representatives are relatively young men and women, who rarely remain among the Papago long enough to demonstrate the gradual growth in experience and wisdom which the Papago always required from those to whom they granted authority. Their sphere of influence, as it is concerned with organizational and economic questions, with education and with health, cuts clearly across the old sphere of the family.

Teachers, the majority of whom are women, have become new disciplinarians for the children. Their principles and objectives of training not only cover different areas of knowledge but also are often in discrepancy with teachings received at home. The discrepancy may be fundamental—as, for instance, regarding the favorable evaluation of competition—or it may represent a change of emphasis upon specific attitudes, as in the case of the very high value given to certain rules of hygiene in school, which often must seem to the children an implicit criticism of home conditions.

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FOREWORD

The studies upon which this report is based had their inception in a series of Papago Tribal resolutions and proposals dating back to the summer of 1958, and in the continuing effort on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and members of Congress from Arizona to find a solution to the very pressing economic situation of Papago Indians.

In the summer of 1958 the Papago Tribal Council and the Association for Papago Affairs, an organization of Indians and other citizens of Southern Arizona, requested Arizona's Congressional delegation to join together in a bipartisan effort to secure federal appropriations for a complete and detailed study of Papago reservation resources, economic conditions, and the Papago manpower potential. The intention was to secure the facts upon which a Papago development plan could be based in order to assure: "That the Papago Indians and their reservation will assume a place of security, dignity, and economic importance in the broader community which includes the reservation, and that the Papago people may continue to be masters of their individual and tribal destiny in the Arizona of tomorrow."

Resolutions authorizing the above studies were introduced in the Senate by Barry Goldwater and in the House by Congressman Stewart Udall, but Congress failed to take action. During the spring of 1960, at the continued urging of the Papago Tribal Council, the Association for Papago Affairs and many individuals, notably William S. King, Chester Higman and Douglas Holeclaw, Senator Barry Goldwater with the help of Roger Ernst, at that time Assistant Secretary of the Interior, secured an allocation of Bureau of Indian Affairs funds for the purpose of conducting a Papago study. Arrangements were then made, in March of 1960, for a contract between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Arizona in which the Bureau of Ethnic Research was assigned two parts of the larger study proposed in 1958: (1) A manpower survey which would consist of employment data

121 and supplementary information on adult Papago Indians, the data to be presented
122 in the form of a detailed listing of information on individuals, accompanied by
657 an interpretive summary report. (2) A survey of the current use by Indians of
[129] Papago agricultural and stock raising resources. This material, plus much other information on the Papago and the Papago reservations which had been gathered through the years by the University of Arizona, is contained in the following report.

The most important additional information consists of the demographic and sociological data contained in the Bureau of Ethnic Research Papago Population Register which was assembled under the sponsorship of the National Cancer Institute. It was understood that the manpower information in Chapter IV of this report would be drawn principally from our Papago Population Register which, incidentally, was not completed until the first week in October of this year.

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657 Members of the staff of the Bureau of Ethnic Research, in connection with the above contract, have also agreed to serve as consultants in the preparation of a Papago Development Program which will be based, in part, upon the material in this report. The need for such a Program was stated fully in the 1958 Association for Papago Affairs resolution:

> "Whereas, the Papago Indian Tribe, the second largest tribe of Indians in Arizona, has repeatedly asked for an assistance program from the federal government in the form of the Papago Development Program which was written almost ten years ago; and
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> "Whereas, the Papago Development Program, no longer considered to be applicable by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was written without sound knowledge of certain basic facts about the Papago people and their reservation such as: The size of the Papago Tribe; the residence patterns of its members; detailed and quantified information concerning family income; the extent and composition of the Papago labor force; trends in Papago economic adjustment; conditions of Papago health, education, and welfare; the economic potential of the reservation, especially mineral deposits, etc.; and

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"Whereas, the Papago Development Program was conceived and written with only a minor consideration of the relationships between the Papago people and their reservation to the rest of Southern Arizona; and

"Whereas, Southern Arizona is one of the fastest growing regions in the nation; and this growth, both economic and in terms of population increase, cannot help but influence the direction in which Papago life will move in the future."

Reliable information is, of course, required in the preparation of any long range areal program. The need for such a program for the Papagos requires no special study. The most casual acquaintance with the reservations discloses the general nature of the depressed economic conditions which have merely been documented and measured in this report.

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A great many individuals have assisted in gathering the material upon which this report is based. Primary recognition must be given to Dr. Robert A. Hackenberg who, as assistant director of the Bureau of Ethnic Research, was in charge of the project which produced our Papago Population Register. His chief assistants were Frank DeWeritt, Charles Cook, William S. King, Ella Rumley and Beverly Solheim. Richard B. Woodbury and Nathalie F.S. Woodbury collected most of the material on reservation farming and stock raising. Harland Padfield both conceived and executed the study which has provided the data for our analysis of Papago employment on Pima County farms. Richard Jones made the study of Papago welfare and, using some material previously collected by Delmos Jones, gathered and wrote the material for the section on Papago reservation settlements. Charles Huffman and Peter Hemingway secured the data on Papago reservation wage workers as well as some other information, including additional data on reservation agriculture. Peter Hemingway also performed the remarkable feat of sorting the many thousands of I.B.M. cards to produce the data for our employment tables within three weeks of the time he first saw an I.B.M. machine. Maps were prepared by Frances Benmayor and Richard Woodbury. Last minute editing, correcting, tabulating and trouble shooting was the very competent hands of Patricia Anderson. The

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175 Mexico gained its independence in 1821, Papagos from Sonora
177 sometimes fled northward into what is now Arizona, introducing Spanish ways acquired during their longer and more
175 intensive contact with non-Indians. The Gadsden Purchase,
648 which added the lands south of the Gila River to the United States in 1853, resulted in the Papago Indians losing their Mexican citizenship, without gaining full United States citizenship. Their lands were considered at that time as available for white settlement, and many springs, wells, and grazing areas were soon claimed by ranchers moving into the area. The seriousness of the trespass was not recognized in early pioneer days with respect to the vast desert
175 areas west of Tucson. The situation was different, however,
659 with respect to the compact settlement of Indians around
[62] the San Xavier Mission and, for this group, a reservation was established in 1874 by Executive Order. By this means about 70,000 acres of land near the Santa Cruz River were
[423] protected from white encroachment. When much of the area
[311] was allotted to individual Indians in 1890, 1,580 acres were reported to be under irrigation and an additional 6,440 acres were considered suitable for farming if water could be made available; the remaining acreage was suitable only for grazing.

175 About this same time, the 1880's and 1890's, a burst of mining activity (in the area of the present main reservation) brought a rapid development of many new wells and the improvement of old ones, to supply the towns that

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quickly grew up at such locations as Quijotoa (Covered Wells), Alamo, and San Antone (formerly Weldon, with a population said to have reached 11,000 at one time). One by one the mines were worked out or failed, and although the mining communities were rapidly deserted, the improvements to the water supply enabled Papagos to occupy the locations advantageously wherever elaborate well machinery was not needed. [312] [311]

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After the Civil War, the combination of growing Papago herds and numerous ranches established by white settlers resulted in substantial increase in the stock grazed in the area now included in the Papago Reservation. Papago "depredations" in the 1890's caused some ranchers to abandon the area, their losses being alleged to have been $300,000 in stock and improvements. Lumholtz reported in 1909 that several Papago stock men had herds of about 200 cattle and 50 horses, in excellent condition, in the western slopes of the Baboquivari Range. Nevertheless, Indian cattlemen and farmers were not secure in their land and numerous large tracts were held by non-Indians. [648] [422]

175 657 131 [114]

A complete history of the establishment of the three Papago reservations is provided by a Bureau of Indian Affairs report (1944):

> "The first reservation for the Papago Indians was established at San Xavier on July 1, 1874, and the second at Gila Bend on December 12, 1882.... An Executive Order of June 17, 1909, reduced the size of the Gila Bend Reservation.

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An Executive Order of June 16, 1911, established small reserves of 80 acres each at Indian Oasis, (now Sells) and at San Miguel. Four Executive Orders of May 28, 1912, established the Maricopa, Cockleburr, Chui Chuischu, and Tat-Murl-Ma-Kut reservations, and orders of September 2 and October 8 of the same year revised the boundaries of the Maricopa Reservation. An Executive Order of December 5, 1912, restored the Indian Oasis and San Miguel reservations to the public domain, and, in lieu thereof, established new Indian Oasis and San Miguel reservations, and added another at the foot of Baboquivari Peak, Santiergos.

"A sub-agency at San Xavier administered these last three areas as well as the San Xavier Reservation. The other Papago reservations remained under the direct jurisdiction of the Pima Agency. An Executive Order of January 14, 1916, established the 'Sells, Nomadic Papago, or Papago Villages Reservation' which included the area formerly within the Cockleburr, Chui Chuischu, Tat-Murl-Ma-Kut, Indian Oasis, San Miguel, and Santiergos reservations, and added much new land. This action was modified by an Executive Order of February 1, 1917, which changed the reservation boundary and reduced the area by about one fifth, principally in an irregular strip running from east to west through the middle of the reservation where large white cattle ranches were located.

"....An Act of June 28, 1926, authorized the purchase of the Steinfeld and Tierney tracts near Sells. An Act of February 21, 1931, authorized the purchase of patented lands within the Papago Reservation and in the strip and added these and the public domain within the strip to that reservation. An Act of July 28, 1937, authorized the purchase of the Menager Dam tract and the addition of neighboring public domain and the Lejira Tract to the east of the Papago Reservation. On January 25, 1940, the Romero Tract was bought, and on May 25, 1940, the Marsellar Tract was added.

"The net result of the various Executive Orders and Acts is an area of 2,774,496 acres within the present Papago Reservation, 71,189 acres within the San Xavier Reservation, and

10,235 acres within the Gila Bend Reservation, a total of 2,855,920 acres."

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No changes of any importance in Papago land holdings have been made since 1944, but a very important change in the nature of Indian title came about in 1955 when, by Act of Congress, the Papago were given all mineral, as well as surface, rights to the reservation.

The history of the establishment of the Papago reservations reveals how recently the large majority of Papago have been directly exposed to non-Indian health, education, religious, and other programs. It was not until 1917 that the first federal school was established on the main reservation at Sells and it was not until after 1917 that any attempt was made to develop Papago resources.

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The decades following 1910 also saw a renewal of Catholic missionary work and the commencement of Protestant missionary work. The history of the modern influence of Christianity on the reservations is reported by Joseph, Spicer and Chesky (1949):

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> "For several years after 1908, brief trips were made to Gu Achi by various Roman Catholic priests who were stationed on the Pima Reservation. In 1915 a resident priest was given jurisdiction over the area, and he made his headquarters near Ko Vaya (Cobabi). In 1923 Father Bonaventure Oblasser moved the headquarters to Topawa. One or sometimes two priests served the reservations for the next decade, carrying on the work of the church and directing its mission schools, which were taught by young Papago. Visits were seldom made to the westernmost part of the reservation,

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and it was not until the 1930's that an increase of personnel brought an expansion of Catholic Missionary work.

"Systematic Protestant missions to the Papago started in 1910, when a Presbyterian missionary began to make regular trips to the main reservation. By 1912 a church and school of that denomination were established at Indian Oasis. Two years later a church and school were set up at San Miguel, and, in 1920, churches were built in Vamori and Topawa. Some older Sonora Catholics were converted; often their children were in boarding school, and word was sent that the children should now attend Presbyterian Sunday School instead of Catholic services. The third generation of Presbyterians is now beginning to grow up, and the membership, a minority on the reservation, remains mostly in the families of the eastern district who were first converted."

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Even though scattered schools and churches were established on the main Papago reservations after 1917 and some work was done in the development of stock water and irrigation systems, the most important events in the recent history of the Papago took place after 1930. The most important of these events were the "liberalization" of federal control over the lives of Indians, changes in Indian attitudes toward an improved way of life which took place during and after the second World War, and the appropriation of more adequate federal funds for Indian education, health, resources development, and many other purposes after the early 1930's.

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The nearly absolute control over the lives of Indians which marked governmental policies during the early part of the twentieth century, was finally ended in the

middle 1930's under the influence of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. His program, in part, was embodied in the Indian Reorganization Act, which contained specific provisions for the preservation of Indian land holdings and the assumption by Indians of some measure of control over their own resources; authorization for the establishment of tribal self-government and federally chartered tribal business corporations; and the establishment of a revolving loan fund for economic development purposes. The intention was to solve Indian social and economic problems through the development of Indian initiative, but it was a "boot strap" program unsupported by necessary governmental appropriations for the training of Indian leaders and the development of Indian organizations, not to mention inadequate appropriations for education, health services, resources development, and routine administrative services. In the case of the Papago, among many other tribes, the program also lacked effectiveness because the majority of individual Indians were not yet committed to any major changes in their way of life. 175 657 [185]

Under the provisions of the Act, Papago Indians living on the main reservation and on the reservations at San Xavier and Gila Bend, joined together to form a single tribal government with headquarters at Sells. The tribal constitution and by-laws, however, provided for an important degree of local autonomy under a system of district councils with each district having two members on the tribal council. 175 642 [631]

175 San Xavier and Gila Bend were each treated as a district and
631 the main reservation was divided into nine districts which conformed with the grazing districts previously established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The nine districts on the main reservation are: Paboq Livari, Chukut Kuk, Gu Achi, Gu Vo, Hickiwan, Pisinimo, Schuk Toak, Sells, and Sif Oidak. (See Map 1)

175 The experience of individual Papagos in the armed
177 services and in employment in war industries during World
185 War II, was the second important event in recent Papago history. These experiences opened the eyes of many of the younger Indians to the difference between the poverty of a subsistence life on the reservation and the relative prosperity obtainable through participation in the job opportunities and the economy of the non-Indian world around them. They realized that to take advantage of these opportunities they, and their children, would have to secure an education, learn how to live in outside communities, and adapt their social habits and family life to the demands of an industrialized society. They also learned that some of the miseries of extreme poverty could be avoided if welfare programs were extended to their villages, and that high death rates, particularly among infants, could be reduced through the acceptance of modern medical treatment.

175 Upon the basis of these changes in Indian interests
● 659 and demands, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and interested

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members of Congress were able to bring about the third event in Papago history: The appropriation by Congress of reasonably adequate funds which would make possible the program of Indian development which had its start in the early 1930's. In education, programs for the establishment [871] of a new public school at Sells, adequate school bus service reaching isolated communities, and the construction of a day school and boarding school at Santa Rosa, have been completed only in the last ten years. Even though there had been a [743] small hospital at Sells prior to 1947, serious programs in health education and preventive medicine were not introduced until about ten years ago. This was followed by the construction of a modern 50-bed hospital in 1960.

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The recent history of the building of school facilities and records of school attendance on the Papago Reservation, provides the perspective against which to judge the inadequacy of training and experience which will handicap the adult Papago population in the years ahead. As recently as 1945 only about 800 children of school age were attending classes in public, federal and mission schools. Another 450 were enrolled but not attending classes and 800 Papago children were not enrolled in any school. In brief, considerably fewer than half of the eligible Papago children were in regular school attendance by the end of World War II. The deficiency, thanks to a variety of federal, state, and Catholic mission school programs has now been almost entirely corrected.

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Educational and health programs are, of course, basic. Other programs for the development of human and natural resources on the reservation have received almost equal attention from the Papago Tribal Council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These include the development of better roads and communication services, employment services, welfare and social services, economic development programs, and many others.

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The chapters that follow will treat in detail the nature of resources development on the reservation, and will describe the nature of the Papago population, its economic position, and its manpower resources. The information thus provided, it is hoped, will assist everyone concerned, and most particularly the Papago themselves, in planning for the future.

312 except in the southwest quarter of the reservation and other small areas where the fluoride content is greater than 1.5 parts per million, the maximum suggested for domestic use (Heindl, p. 22).

175 312 Reservation Water Development. Prior to the systematic and extensive drilling of deep wells in the Papaguería, the Indians depended, during the long winter and spring period, upon a few widely scattered tanks and springs, which tapped small portions of the ground water supply. In some instances, shallow wells were dug to supplement natural water sources near the winter villages. During the summer and fall, at least, man-made catch basins (charcos) could be depended upon to hold a supply of water originating from run off from the heavy summer thunderstorms.

The brief and intensive period of mining activity in the late 19th Century was marked by the first large-scale use of ground water. Numerous relatively deep wells were dug or drilled, some of them continuing to supply Papago villages after the mining ventures came to an end. Nevertheless, wells remained few, more important for limited domestic use than to support the large numbers of cattle and horses grazed on the Reservation.

175 312 659 311 The first large-scale program of water development by the Bureau of Indian Affairs was in the middle 1930's. At that time 56 wells, 18 dams, 41 masonry storage

tanks, and 76 earth-walled tanks (charcos) were built. Water thus supplied not only permitted the year-round use of the range but permitted cattlemen to place their cattle in areas formerly not usable because of lack of water. Nevertheless, it was reported as late as 1949 that "only 40% of the Papago range is now within reach of permanent stockwater" (The Papago Development Program, 1949, p. 30). This situation, of course, tended to accentuate the overgrazing of areas with a better water supply. 175 312 657 311

From 1953 until the termination of the program in 1958, the Papago Development Program expended $1,041,181 on stockwater development, including not only wells, but windmills, power pumps, dams, storage tanks, and similar construction. During this same time deep wells were drilled to supply water for the Chuichu farm development. 175 312 657

Since 1958, with the completion of the well drilling program, emphasis has been upon range development and soil and moisture conservation. During the past five years, to June 30, 1963, about $500,000 has been expended for these purposes, mostly in the construction of detention dams. 185 312

At the present time there are 23 irrigation wells operating on the main reservation and at San Xavier. In addition there are 160 wells for domestic and stock water use, on the main Papago Reservation, six at San Xavier and two at Gila Bend. 312

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657 During 1960 the Public Health Service initiated a program to provide domestic water and improved sanitation facilities in Papago villages where local arrangements could be worked out, and where water could be supplied from existing wells or developed at reasonable cost.

Under this program, local Indians provide necessary labor for the installation, purchase purely personal items of equipment, and establish a system for local maintenance of the water lines and tanks. The Public Health Service provides the equipment and pipe for a water distribution system, including a water line to each home.

The current program will continue until all villages that meet the necessary requirements have been supplied with water distribution systems and sanitary facilities.

At the end of June, 1963, the following village water projects had been completed: Quijotoa, Kaka, Hotason Vo, Havana Nakya, Sil Nakya, and Schuchuli. In the case of the latter two only well improvement was programmed. Work is in progress in the following villages: Topawa, Pisinimo, Ali Chuk, Gu Vo, and Viopuli, and work is expected to start in the near future in Santa Rosa, Cowlic, Anegam, and Gu Komelik.

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365
491 Public Utilities and Transportation. Good roads, power lines, and telephones are usually found side by side on the reservation, reaching, of course, the principal centers of population. Roughly speaking, this involves the arc

cattle were held in her two districts, and that the total cattle population on the reservation was about 25,000. 175 233 [311]

It is reasonable to assume from this and other evidence that the period of heavy grazing on the reservation was between 1914 and 1937. Drought conditions in the middle 1930's caused many cattle and horses to die on the range and forced Indian owners to sell more than usual numbers. [731] Cattle and horse sales, in fact, more than doubled between 1935 and 1939. It was also during this time that the first serious attempts were made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to introduce better range management practices and to influence the Indians to run fewer head of cattle of better quality. Pressure to reduce the number of horses, especially horses running wild on the reservation, also had an effect and, in addition, the number of horses was reduced because of a dourine infection which was not brought under control until the late 1940's. 175 233 657 433

The steady reduction in stock numbers was revealed in a ten-year comparison for the period 1949 to 1959 (Metzler, 1960, p. 55). The data also provides information on the size of the Papago ranges and the number of acres available per animal unit. See Table 12. 175 233

trained management and the use of fertilizers, insect control and expensive farm equipment and water pumps.

Flood water farming, as it has been practiced since prehistoric days on the Papago Reservation, consists of the use of surface runoff of rain water at those spots where it could be collected and spread, either at the mouth of an arroyo or along stream beds in the larger valleys. Various names have been used to describe this technique: "akchin farming" (akchin being the Papago word for the mouth of an arroyo), "flash flood farming," and "dry farming." Actually, since the introduction of wheat by Europeans, dry farming, which depends directly upon moisture from rainfall, has been used by the Papago in raising winter wheat. Corn, beans, and squash, however, which must be grown in summer, depend upon flood water which can only be supplied by the artificial spreading of moisture from intermittent streams.

Periodic surveys and estimates made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs show that flood water farming on the main reservation has steadily declined during the past 50 years. How far the decline has gone, however, is not known. In an effort to secure this information the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been systematically carrying out a farm survey during the past five years. Thus far, only the southeastern part of the main reservation has been surveyed (Chukut Kuk, Baboquivari, and the southern part of the Sells district).

dropped to 740. The number of acres farmed by Indians at San Xavier has decreased from 1,125 to 45. New land has been put into cultivation at Chuichu. At San Xavier, land previously farmed by Indians has been transferred to non-Indian leasors or now lies idle. 241 311 178

On the three Papago reservations, 5,275 acres of land in four areas have been developed for irrigated farming: 1,307 acres at San Xavier, 370 acres at Gila Bend, 1,678 acres at Chuichu, and 1,920 acres at Papago Farms. During 1961 the lease at Papago Farms, which had been given to a non-Indian corporation for development purposes, was cancelled and the land was idle until the summer of 1963 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs planted 160 acres in small grains and forage crops as an experiment. For details of farming in the other three areas see Table 14 and Table 15. [427] [657]

241 311 427 non-Indian farmers. Papago Farms is a new development in an area in the western section of Chukut Kuk district which had never been farmed commercially before 1958. A total of 7,500 acres of tribal land was leased in 1957 to a corporation for a ten-year period under a plan that called for ultimate development of 5,600 acres. From 1958 through 1960 the company reported 1,920 acres under cultivation. The following year no crops were planted and the lease was cancelled.

241 311 653 The Papago Tribal Council is now working on a plan to bring this area into cultivation as a tribal enterprise. A similar tribal project is contemplated for the development of 2,000 new acres of irrigated land near the proposed Tat Momolik Dam southwest of Chuichu.

651 Tribal income from farm land during 1961 was derived entirely from the agricultural lease at Gila Bend where non-Indian leasors paid a rental of $4,000 from a gross crop revenue of $22,720.

241 311 657 History and Prospects. Papago agriculture has never lived up to its promise. In 1949 the Bureau of Indian Affairs published a Papago Development Program which was the product of joint planning by Indian leaders and Indian Service technicians. At that time it was suggested that irrigated agriculture could be developed on about 16,000 acres of land at Chuichu, San Xavier, and Gila Bend. At that time there were 2,425 acres actually being farmed on

the three reservations. Thirteen years later, in 1962, the amount of land used had decreased even though, at San Xavier, non-Indian farmers had been brought in to use idle land. Falling markets, a falling water table, and rising costs are perhaps the principal contributing factors in the failure to proceed with plans for the development of Chuichu. The almost complete abandonment of farming by San Xavier families has not been explained. Relatively small Indian holdings, continued division of the land among heirs, and the preference for wage work over subsistence farming are probably the primary contributing factors.

The prospect for a greater development of agriculture on the reservations has not, however, been abandoned by the Indians nor by students of agricultural economics. Mr. William H. Metzler, who conducted a study on the reservation during 1958 and 1959 for the Department of Agriculture, has estimated from a preliminary report by the U. S. Geological Survey that about 15,000 acres of land on the Papago Reservation could be irrigated from deep wells. He goes on to say (Metzler, 1959, pp. 46-7):

> "Less than one per cent of the approximately 3,000,000 acres in the reservation is adapted to crop production. Probably half of these 30,000 acres could be irrigated, the rest could be made suitable for flash flood farming. It is probable, however, that the Papagos do not need that much land for flood plain farming. Probably fewer than 300 families would engage in it and most would require only three to five acres each.

The total number is 1,296, at least 30% of the Papago labor force. 162 464 [184]
These are the individuals who must be classified as "underemployed." They are predominantly reservation residents, and, as will be seen later, are drawn from the Papago population with little or no formal education.

The magnitude of the underemployment and unemployment problem is shown even more clearly in an analysis of Table 17.[1] Three hundred and ninety individuals [657] are recorded as living on unearned income (mostly welfare) and 254 individuals are recorded as being unemployed (mostly unemployable). The two classes together constitute 644 and when we add these to the 1,296 who are underemployed there is a total of 1940 Papagos, 19 years of age and over, who are unemployable, unemployed, or underemployed in a total adult population of 4,440 on whom we have employment data. The percentages are as follows: Steadily employed, 28%; unemployable, unemployed, or underemployed, 44%; housewives 24%; and students 4%.

Anyone interested in the "Indian problem" knows that it is the above group of underemployed and unemployed Papagos--almost half of the adult population--who must be the subject of central attention. These are the adults who have only common labor to offer in an industrialized society which is cutting its need for common labor every day. These are the adults who cannot speak English, or handle [191] it badly, who have had little or no formal education, and who were raised in the relative isolation of reservation communities.

464 657

It is not assumed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or by the tribal government that time will take care of the problems of unemployment and underemployment among Indians. A number of programs--employment assistance, vocational training, adult education, community development, and social and health service programs have been established in order to give special assistance to Indians. The range and type of services, and the numbers of Indians for whom these services are made available, however, are not in proportion to the magnitude of the Papago social and economic problems as they are defined in this report.

[1] [See Table on P. 98--Analyst] 104

Papago women and this is probably due, as might be expected, to the lack of education found among the women who must support themselves or help support their families in seasonal agricultural work. Women engaged in non-agricultural wage work, which includes the woman who work as domestics, are the best educated.

Employment and Age. The significant age differences in employment are given in Table 22. Contrary to heretofore inconclusive evidence, Papagos under forty hold more jobs in off-reservation wage work (agriculture and non-agriculture) in proportion to their numbers than do the older men. The unemployed, however, are definitely younger men: 6.3% as compared to 4.0%. Unearned income (usually welfare) goes to the older people, 17.6% as against 2.4%. There is little or no sex difference in this category.

There is a very high proportion of Papagos over 65 who are receiving unearned income (usually Old Age Assistance): 206 out of a total of 343 (57%).

Table 22. Papago Administrative Population Employment by Age. Individuals 19 Years and Over, 1959.

Type of Employment or Income	Under Forty			Over Forty		
	Total	Number	%	Total	Number	%
Reservation Agriculture	2540	115	4.5	1907	155	8.1
Reservation Wage Work	2540	72	2.8	1907	46	2.4
Off Reservation Wages	2540	1065	41.9	1907	634	33.2
Unemployed	2540	160	6.3	1907	77	4.0
Unearned Income	2540	60	2.4	1907	335	17.6

Employment and Origin. In addition to a low average education, the Papago labor force has the added disadvantage of little or no childhood experience in areas where young people normally have a wide variety of jobs. Approximately 86% of the present Papago labor force originated on the three reservations where opportunities for earning money at odd jobs are practically non-existent. Boys and girls on the reservations, of course, help their families in the home and on

the process of job upgrading which has moved other ethnic groups from seasonal farm work to temporary and permanent farm work to urban industrial employment. 463

Papago Welfare Programs. There is little or no evidence that Papago Indians have taken undue advantage of welfare programs. On the contrary, there is much evidence that state and federal welfare payments make the difference between complete and painful poverty and a bearable standard of living for many reservation families. This last statement holds particularly true for the old people--close to 60% of all welfare payments go to individuals over 65--who are especially vulnerable under modern conditions. 657 511 [888]

To learn more about this problem, and its place in reservation family economics, Mr. Richard Jones, graduate research assistant in the Bureau of Ethnic Research, was assigned the task of gathering and analyzing necessary data. His work was thorough, covering all phases of welfare administration, welfare costs, and the effect of welfare on Indian families. A summary of his findings is given below. 114 121

Information gathered from the Indians themselves very obviously gives an undercount of welfare cases. We report a total of 390 individuals (on and off reservation) who received unearned income in 1959. The official number of cases, reported by Jones for reservation residents alone for 1959 was 448. We report a total of 206 individuals over the age of 65 receiving unearned income while Jones reports 264 cases of Old Age Assistance (59%). 659 128

It is not likely that Papagos would deliberately withhold information on welfare. The difference is probably to be found in the welfare cases among the 200 on whom we have no employment data, and in the reporting of individuals receiving welfare as "unemployed". In any event, we were forced to depend upon informants since welfare information, which identifies the recipient, is confidential and so not available to us.

There are five welfare categories, Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent 657 Children, Aid to the Blind (all administered by the state welfare office), Child Welfare and General Assistance (administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs). In addition, everyone eligible for assistance in the above categories, plus those of minimum income, are eligible for surplus food under the Surplus Commodities Program (a state agency).

By 1962, according to Jones, the number of reservation welfare cases 162 had jumped from 448 to 536, not counting an estimated fifteen children receiving 657 Child Welfare benefits and 170 heads of households receiving surplus food. Counting dependents this means that more than 1800 residents out of a total of about 3000 on the three Papago reservations are receiving some assistance, directly or indirectly, from welfare programs.

Welfare statistics pertaining to the Papago reservations are given in 162 Table 27. Trends for fiscal years 1958 through 1962 indicate a gradual increase 657 in Aid to Dependent Children cases. This has been noted also for the non-Indian 178 population as a whole. An opinion with respect to the reason for this was provided [115] by Pima County welfare officials. More women and children tend to return to the [586] reservation, or remain there. More women are finding out about ADC grants. In addition, there is a national increase, as well as a local increase, in divorce. [848] There is also an increase in illegitimacy. The primary cause for the condition that makes a woman and her children eligible for A.D.C., however, is the death, [164] disability or desertion of the father. On the reservations death claims 25% of [165] such cases, disability 22%, and desertion about 19% of the total.
[586]

Given the nature of Papago family economy, the results of a comparison 162 with the non-Indian population of Pima County are not particularly surprising. 171 For 1961 the non-Indian population of the county was estimated to be 48 times as 657 large as the reservation Indian population. Using the population ratio of 1 to 48

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659
434
0273

Table 27. Welfare Cases and Payments to Papago Reservation Residents, Fiscal Years 1958 through 1962. (Source: State and Federal welfare statistical reports).

Category	Average Monthly Cases	Average Monthly Payments	Estimated Annual Payments
1958			
Old Age Assistance	273	$14,884	
Aid Dependent Children	102	9,331	
Aid to the Blind	9	603	
General Assistance	72	3,710	
Child Welfare	17	993	
Total	473	29,521	$354,252
1959			
Old Age Assistance	266	13,133	
Aid Dependent Children	102	9,644	
Aid to the Blind	7	482	
General Assistance	73	4,218	
Child Welfare	17	999	
Total	465	30,478	365,736
1960			
Old Age Assistance	255	16,161	
Aid Dependent Children	119	12,636	
Aid to the Blind	8	345	
General Assistance	70	4,489	
Child Welfare	8	810	
Total	460	34,661	415,932
1961			
Old Age Assistance	257	15,801	
Aid Dependent Children	135	14,540	
Aid to the Blind	9	394	
General Assistance	87	5,499	
Child Welfare	12	949	
Total	500	37,383	448,596
1962			
Old Age Assistance	266	16,191	
Aid Dependent Children	134	16,680	
Aid to the Blind	12	613	
General Assistance	104	4,634	
Child Welfare	n.a.	1,375	
Total	536+	39,483	473,796

as a basis for comparison, ADC cases occur in the ratio 1 to 6, OAA cases occur in the ratio 1 to 7 and Aid to the Blind cases occur in the ratio 1 to 10.

The data given above reveal quite clearly the "vulnerable" situation of most Papago families and the depressed economic conditions on the reservations. The welfare picture, however, is not quite as bad as it appears to be. Indians look upon their reservations as a place of security and support--not only in term of the assistance rendered through federal agencies, but also the security and support that can be expected from kinsmen and neighbors in an Indian community. Indians in trouble return to the reservations and this is undoubtedly the reason why Jones found 465 individuals receiving welfare payments on the reservations in 1959 and we found only 32 such cases among Papagos living off the reservations.

Employment and Income on the Papago Reservations. Information on residence and place of employment as given in this report indicates how difficult it would be to study a "reservation population" apart from a "tribal population." It has been shown that family movement on and off the reservations is a constant process and that the annual earnings of 350 adults, at the very least, are from sources both on and off the reservation. Another group of about 430 adults (not counting the unemployed and housewives) are recorded as having their "usual" home on the reservations but live on income from temporary and seasonal wage work on the outside.

Patterns of Papago employment and the many and varied sources of income pose major problems in any attempt to learn the sum of Papago earnings family by family. Even in a sample survey, where the employment and earnings of a small number of families could be studied intensively, the findings would be less than precise for the hundreds of families who are multi-employed, irregularly employed

657 The Indians of the Southwest solved their dilemma by seeking work to support themselves while they struggled for greater political power (even while becoming an ever smaller minority in the total population), and pled with Congress for huge appropriations to rehabilitate their abused reservation lands.

The Indian Bureau attacked the economic problem where its officials recognised the situation and could with funds allotted by Congress. Bureau administrators know wages from agricultural harvesting contribute a large share to Southwestern Indian income. They have long wanted more exact knowledge of effects upon natives produced by their experience in the fields, and the role Indians play in the economy of Southwestern agriculture.

121 [122] Accurate knowledge is essential for intelligent and effective administration. Recognising this fact, the Indian Bureau agreed to a grant to the University of Arizona's Department of Anthropology for an attack on one phase of the problem.

This report is the result. It is a report on the role of one Southwestern Indian tribe in the cotton harvest on Anglo-owned irrigated lands near its tribal reserves. It is a picture in microcosm of the economics of all Indians of the region at mid-century, except for specific tribal peculiarities inherent in a different culture and location. It is an example of adjustment of an Indian tribe to demands arising from close and intimate contact with an increasing Anglo population majority, and to their insufficient land base.

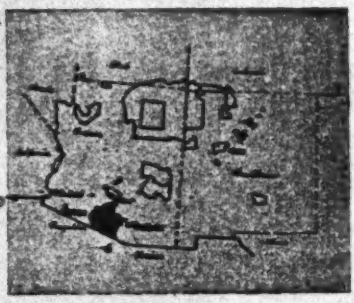
WHO--this report is about--Papago Indians

101 [121] [197] This report is concerned specifically with the role in the southern Arizona cotton harvest of over 7,000 Papago Indians who live along the Mexican border. These natives speak a Piman language closely related to others spoken from the Gila River south to the border of Sinaloa in Mexico. They call themselves the Tohono Au'autam, The Desert People.

101 361 131 A few hundred Desert People live on the Mexican side of the border. Some inhabit Indian rancherias--villages with houses scattered barely within sight of each other--close to the frontier, and have contacts with American Papagos. Others eke out a parasitic existence around towns of Mexicans who have taken their [185] lands. They are said to have given up their Indian heritage and are waiting passively to die.

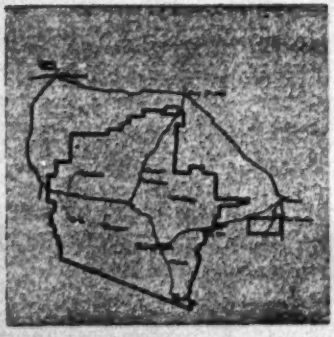
101 [186] [464] [199] [821] The thousands of Desert People in the U. S. are a people with hope and pride in being Indian. A few hundred make a living in low paid jobs in Anglo cities. They have chosen to break away from their Indian heritage in an endeavor to give their children a head start as citizens of wider Anglo-American society, especially by affording them a formal education in public schools.

● 657 423 [131] Most of the Desert People, however, live in rural semi-desert areas reserved for them by the U. S. from their former territories. The San Xavier community was reserved some of its lands in 1874 by Presidential Executive Order. This 71,090 acre reserve slices through the Santa Cruz River bottoms, and could once be irrigated with surface flow (until Anglos started erosion that cut the channel--and the [312] water table--20 feet below surface) and now is irrigated from wells. Most of it was allotted to individuals, and the useable agricultural and range land [311] is now mostly in heirship status. That is to say its [428] use is amazingly and cripplingly complicated by the fractionalization of holdings through inheritance. Fortunately, the San Xavier community continues to recognize old use-rights more than the legal allotment system.

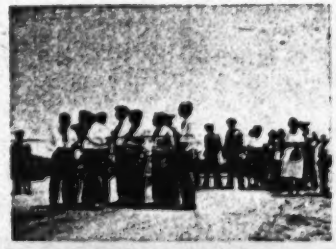


Lands held in trust for Indian Indian tribes by the U. S. government in the Southwest. (Papago reservations in black.)

Papago women playing at the ancient game of taka, which resembles field hockey.



The Papago, Gila Bend and San Xavier reservations and their highway connections.



Chairman of the Papago Tribal Council (far left of group) joins in ceremonies opening the last section of paved road across the main reservation joining Tucson and Ajo.

131 A few Desert People live on a tiny 10,235 acre
● 657 reserve at Gila Bend set aside in 1912 by Executive
312 Order--leaving the village outside the reserved
[311] area! Some of this land could once be irrigated by surface flow from the Gila River which is now impounded far upstream, and none is farmed now.

A few Papagos live on the Maricopa Indian Reservation upstream under the Pima Indian Agency on lands partially irrigated by pumps tapping the underground flow.

The greatest number of the Desert People live on the 2,773,896 acre Papago Indian Reservation running north from the Mexican border within a few miles of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Only a few hundred acres at the northern tip of the reserve
[133] projecting into the Gila River valley can be irrigated by pumped water. There is no running surface
[433] stream in the entire area. An irrigation of sorts using flood waters from late summer rains has been practiced for unknown centuries by the Desert People to raise subsistence crops to supplement the surprising variety of foods gathered from the desert plants or hunted. Water under this reserve is too deep and too scarce for economic irrigation.
[185] "To many Papago a good field, enough cattle to provide occasional meat and money, a few horses for prestige, and plenty of rain would make the ideal combination."[1]

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[1]Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 59.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

751
825 In visiting labor camps in the course of this study, the writer saw Papago babies lying on the ground on a blanket in the shade of a camp cabin with flies in
[854] clusters at their eyes and nostrils while the mother went about her work. Papago women were seen cooking
[252] with flies buzzing freely around, and the daily pot
[262] of frijoles often sat on a spotless oilcloth table cover with flies zooming in through an open door to the feast.

751/ In fact, in the heat of late Arizona summer and
362 early fall--the serious fly season--the doors of labor
825 camp cabins are closed only when no one is in the cabin. Every breath of air is precious in the oppressive heat. This is true among the Desert People even when they live in excellent concrete block cabins with spacious screened windows and screen doors. They seem to hold a somewhat Steinish concept that a door is a door is a door is a door, whether wood or screen, and they prop open a screen door to let in air just as they would a wooden door.

[659] This all points to the big job the Indian Bureau school and medical service still must do in educating Papago mothers and children to the dangers of the ordinary housefly.

That lack of cabin screening, and Papago lack of knowledge of its necessity is really serious in the labor camps is convincingly shown by other sanitary conditions--or their lack--in these rural slum towns.

TOILET FACILITIES

514
[466] Whatever the construction of houses in their camps, Pima and Pinal county labor camp operators provide very much the same kind of toilet facilities. In fact, they are almost unanimous in digging a pit and erecting over it the unpainted, rustic outhouse of folklore. Over 95% of the camps in the area exhibit outhouses as alike as boards sawed from the same log.[1] A few long established farmers making a life-time career of their land provided plumbing for their laborers--significant chiefly for proving that it can be done.[2] They had small cotton plantings and hired few pickers.

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[1] Based on: 80 of 81 camps in Pinal county and 22 of 23 in Pima, or 95+%.
[2] Basis: 1 of 81 in Pinal and 1 of 23 in Pima county, 4+%.

ECONOMIC NECESSITY

433 **Basic reasons Papagos Work--**

[463] [657] [313] [316] [464] In a rural area, there are not many choices of livelihood--farming, mining, lumbering, raising cattle. The Papago reservations have no timber worth cutting other than mesquite trees for firewood. The Papago reservations are the only lands in the U. S. reserved for Indians which are open to mineral entry by outsiders. Consequently mining claims are held by non-Papagos, and profits go elsewhere. The only way the Desert People can benefit from mines is by selling their labor to the owners.

241 311 433 Farming is risky for the Desert People. Only two communities have irrigated lands which can be depended upon for crops. The rest must resort to age-old techniques of flood farming where arroyos spread flood waters from mountains. Spots that can be farmed this way are not abundant. They are being decreased each summer as gullies wash out fields and arroyos cover them with sterile sand and gravel washed down from overgrazed and eroding slopes above. Flood farming was never more than a subsistence measure because of the size limitation on fields, and frequent crop failures from flooding out, frost, or drought. Today, there is little incentive to gamble on a subsistence farm for any Papago able to speak enough English to get a job. For [464] [511] wage labor means a super-subsistence income, even if a substandard one by Anglo lights.

241 433 464 221 Probably every worker on the Papago reservations has noticed the steady abandonment of flood farms. Among Papago cotton pickers with these farms, less than half apparently bother to plant any crops at all nowadays.[1] Cotton picking starts just about the time fields need weeding on the reserves, and picking season hits its peak just about the time flood field crops are ready to harvest. This conflict between flood-farm growing season and wage-labor season in the cotton fields results in many Papago laborers not planting crops at all on the reserves.

433 241 461 Another factor discouraging flood farm planting is that these small plots produce only subsistence crops at best, even if the gamble against drought and over-

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[1] 5 families of 11 giving information had any crops at all in 1950.